

THE EFFECT OF FAMILY SOLIDARITY ON  
FEMALE JUVENILE DELINQUENCY:  
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

An abstract of a Thesis by  
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The problem. The purpose of this study was to investigate the effects, if any, and extent of influence of family solidarity on the delinquent acts of female juveniles in Polk County, Iowa.

Procedure. A longitudinal sample, consisting of 100 cases from the records found in the Polk County Juvenile Court, was the basis for compiling data. Basically these consisted of a family record sheet and a social summary and investigation for each respective individual. For the most recent thirty (30) cases personal interviews were also conducted to obtain a more subjective view of the adolescent's feelings and opinions. In addition the San Francisco list of offense categories in 1960 and 1964 for Police and Juvenile Court use was also utilized, as was the Two Factor Index of Social Position as created by August B. Hollingshead. In determining the influence and/or significance of the family on juvenile delinquency, separate charts were devised based on the following criteria: race, the crime or offense reported, family organization, income of the head of household, and family solidarity.

Findings. An analysis of the data revealed a significant trend toward broken or disbanded families and an even more significant emphasis on unstable homes, whether in a one or two parent home.

Conclusions and Recommendations. One of the major conclusions in this study is that the traditional and oft-maligned family group is of primary influence in the frequent patterns of female juvenile delinquency. A further conclusion is that the unstable family, whether consisting of one or two parents is the most destructive obstacle toward breaking a delinquent pattern. Future studies might be helpful to determine if this trend is continuing and if so, how to counteract it to the best interest of society.

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A Thesis  
Presented to  
The School of Graduate Studies  
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of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

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by  
Marilynn Liddell

August 1976

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## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

Midnight! The telephone rings. It is the police department reporting to the distraught parents that they have the 14 year old run-away daughter in custody. She was picked up half an hour ago in a drug raid at a local residence. Juvenile court authorities are notified and another juvenile delinquent statistic is born.

#### The Sociological Perspective

The above depiction of a hypothetical situation is a relatively accurate portrayal of a frequent referral to the Polk County Juvenile Probation office, circa, 1975. Even though the issue is a daily and on-going one, the entire scope of juvenile delinquency is not by any means delimited as being only a social problem having contemporary relevance.

The most generally accepted theory behind the modern juvenile court purports its roots to be anchored in the penal reform of the late 19th century, which typified an era of "spirit of social justice."<sup>1</sup> According to Anthony Platt's post-analytic description of the times, the prevailing ideology was one of equal doses of liberalism and reformism which together provided the rejection of general theory and

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<sup>1</sup>Richard Quinney (ed.), Criminal Justice in America: A Critical Understanding (New York: Little, Brown & Company, 1974), pp. 356-58.



macroscopic historical analyses in favor of behaviorism and an underlying cynicism.<sup>1</sup> Thus the "symbolic crusade" of saving children was spawned.<sup>2</sup>

At the turn of the century two factors, the volume of children considered to need protective shelter and the increasing number of crusaders, combined, leading to the popularization of the parens patriae philosophy typical of insurgent juvenile courts. Boston, Massachusetts, circa 1874, and New York City (1892) vie for the distinction of having developed the first special tribunal for handling children, both claiming the recognition of and control over deviant behavior. Subsequently, Boston instituted the first State Industrial Training School for juveniles at the turn of the century. However, it is a feat usually accorded to Chicago, Cook County, Illinois, of enacting legislation providing for the first juvenile court in 1899. The rapid spread of the movement is noted by the fact that in 1917, juvenile court legislation was evident in all but three states, and by 1932, over six hundred independent juvenile courts had been established in the United States.<sup>3</sup>

In 1975, it is still the basic concept of parens patriae which tends to dominate juvenile justice. Briefly

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 362.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 371.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 377.

it allows for elimination of the stigma of criminal guilt (incidently it also disallows for a finding of innocence); shielding of judicial juvenile records from the general public and; provisions for the secrecy of closed hearings.

Although the modern juvenile justice system can be traced to the development of the progressive child-saving movement, with all its humanistic, moralistic standards and impositions of reform, rescue and social responsibility, it was not until the close of the century that systematically organized consolidation of the system was realized. This included juvenile courts, probation departments, child guidance facilities, truant officers and reformatories.<sup>1</sup>

Much of the very early work recorded about juveniles deals primarily with boys. Reasons for this stem mainly from the fact that more boys transgressed the law, due both to opportunity and design in the early twentieth century, and also because more facilities were available for research with respect to males. It is contended by several authors that this male-dominated focus has led to both the differential treatment afforded women in the formal system of criminal justice and to the glaring lack of data available concerning female deviation.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 367.

<sup>2</sup>Walter Reckless, The Crime Problem (New York: Appleton Century Company, 1967), pp. 148-67.

## Literature Review

Although scattered and sparse, research compiled about girls does find its way into the literature of the time as far back as the early 1900's. The Delinquent Child and the Home, by Sophonsiba Breckenridge and Edith Abbott (1912),<sup>1</sup> Juvenile Delinquency Among Girls, by Sophia Robison and Elsa Castendyk (1943),<sup>2</sup> and Correctional Education and Delinquent Girls, by Mable Elliott (1929)<sup>3</sup> are but a few early contributions to the literature of this type.

In a series of articles appearing in Social Forces during May, 1932, a number of researchers did extensive work on the topic "Are Broken Homes a Causative Factor in Delinquency".<sup>4</sup> Even if a bit inconclusive, the answer seemed to point toward the fact that at least potentially, girls appeared especially susceptible to insufficient or non-existent parenting during formative years. However, the mainstay of research and early field investigation in this regard represented a vast number of girls whose "problem" consisted solely in sexual experimentation and acting out,

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<sup>1</sup>Edith Abbott and Sophonsiba Breckenridge, The Delinquent Child and the Home (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1912).

<sup>2</sup>Sophia Robison and Elsa Castendyk, Juvenile Delinquency Among Girls (New York: Harcourt & Brace, 1943).

<sup>3</sup>Mable Elliott, Education and Delinquent Girls (New York: Free Press, 1929).

<sup>4</sup>See: Social Problems, X, 1932, 525-31.

usually leading to either prostitution and unwed motherhood or subsequent termination or truancy from school: under the general penumbra of acts involving incorrigibility. Under current interpretation, the juvenile justice system labels this type of "offense" as a status offense (i.e., one which would not be a violation of law if committed by an adult rather than a minor). The Iowa Crime Commission notes that presently the wording of these offenses is so vague, however, as to probably render this section of the juvenile code as unconstitutional.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed C. Wright Mills' concept of "diluted liberalism", in regard to research on juvenile delinquency, suggests that the majority of such work stems from researchers who accept prevailing (i.e.) state definitions of crime and operate within the premise of criminal law.<sup>2</sup>

Today it is impossible to escape the far-reaching consequences of the Gault Case (1967),<sup>3</sup> in which the United States Supreme Court first recognized and ruled on the constitutional argument that juvenile court violates constitutional guarantees of due process and stigmatizes youths as

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<sup>1</sup>See 1975 State Code of Iowa, Section 232.

<sup>2</sup>Quinney, op. cit., p. 361.

<sup>3</sup>Gault vs. U.S. 387 US 1 (1967).

"delinquents," thus resembling adult criminal courts.<sup>1</sup> Justice Fortas, in his majority position advised that juveniles are entitled to (1) timely notice of specific charges against them, (2) notification of right to counsel, especially if proceeding may result in curtailing his freedom through commitment to an institution, (3) to confront and cross-examine witnesses, and (4) adequate warning of the privilege against self-incrimination.<sup>2</sup>

Further, and important to the dispositional aspect, the Kent Case (1966) clearly sets down the guidelines of "admonition to function in a 'parental' relationship is not an invitation to procedural arbitrariness."<sup>3</sup>

Despite the ever growing constitutionality issues and the juvenile bill of rights for children under consideration by the Civil Liberties Union and the Iowa Crime Commission, the fact remains that both the rate of delinquency and scope (types) are currently defined under the Iowa Code, Section 232, has grown increasingly voluminous--and its extent does not by any means exclude women. In a February 7, 1975, article appearing in the Des Moines Register and Tribune, credence is given this latter statement by Ms. Freda Adler, a New York instructor and author, using Women's Liberation as

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 387.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Fortas cited in Kent v. United States 383 US 541, 556 (1966).

the culprit, "LIB' Comes to Crime! More Female Crimes, More Serious."<sup>1</sup>

### The Problem

As an illustration of the increased incidence in official female deviation in Polk County, in 1973, 2882 children were referred to Juvenile Court within the county. Of those 2591, or an increase of 36 percent over 1972, were referred on delinquency allegations (1960 boys, 631 girls). This statistic compared to figures ten years earlier in 1963, which included 1570 referrals, 1331 for delinquency (1080 boys and 251 girls) illustrates a sharp increase. This ten year increase represents an 87 percent upsurge overall and almost three times as many referrals in female delinquency.<sup>2</sup> The size is accented by the fact that this figure characterizes only one county in Iowa. National statistics reflect identical trends. One out of every nine persons under age eighteen is referred to juvenile court on delinquency charges; one of six boys (boys are arrested five times more than girls) is referred to a juvenile court.<sup>3</sup> Arrests of young persons

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<sup>1</sup>Register and Tribune, February 7, 1975.

<sup>2</sup>The author expresses her gratitude to the Polk County Juvenile Court from whom these statistics for 1974 are gathered.

<sup>3</sup>President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967).

for crime increased 47 percent between 1960 and 1965, and another 54 percent between 1965 and 1970, and yet another 17 percent between 1973 and 1974.<sup>1</sup> In light of these statistics the social significance of juvenile delinquency becomes obvious.

In her book Adolescent Girl in Conflict, Gisela Konopka made what this author believes to be several important inroads into the contemporary problem of female juvenile delinquency.<sup>2</sup> Basically taking her hypothesis from Robert K. Merton, "that deviant behavior occurs when there is a serious discrepancy between aspiration toward goals which are considered necessary to success in a given society and the opportunity for achieving them"<sup>3</sup> (Cloward and Ohlin) she set about to personally interview and evaluate a number of girls, formally adjudicated as delinquent. Within this context she reviewed the girls' background, feelings, and actions which placed them in their respective situations. Basically each girl gave a rather bleak introspective outlook of herself as she approached adulthood. It is best expressed in one girl's own thought:

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<sup>1</sup>James Howard, Children in Trouble (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970), pp. 162-171.

<sup>2</sup>Gisela Konopka, Adolescent Girl in Conflict (New York: Prentice Hall, 1966).

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

I am a person like everyone else yet different in my own right. I am lonely, surrounded by a faceless world. I am a young girl caught in a deeply changing world.<sup>1</sup>

The problem then to be investigated is one which advances from a two-pronged interrelated approach: one dealing with the factual, legalistic aspect and constitutionality of delinquency itself; and the other fielding the questions of how the delinquent acts behaviorally and why. It is best stated from the following ideas by Ruth S. Cavan:

Delinquency is a behavior and like all behavior it is related on one hand to inner needs and on the other to social groups and cultural ways of which the person is a member.<sup>2</sup>

In the succeeding chapters, the concern will be with both the structural (socio-cultural) and the socio-psychological (inner needs) characteristics of the juvenile female delinquent in Polk County, Iowa.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>2</sup>Ruth S. Cavan, Juvenile Delinquency: Development, Treatment and Control (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1962), p. 12.



## Chapter 2

### THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

#### The Historical Process

In order to fully appreciate the social implications of juvenile delinquency as both a social issue and/or a criminal legal problem it is important to first of all grasp a basic understanding of its foundations both socially and legally. To accomplish this, the beginnings of the juvenile justice system itself will need to be examined.

Writing in the 1920's, W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki accorded that a social problem of any magnitude is not an isolate unto itself.

The fundamental methodological principle of both social psychology and sociology--the principle without which they can never reach scientific explanation is therefore the following: the cause of a social or individual phenomenon is never another social or individual phenomenon alone but always a combination of social and individual phenomenon.<sup>1</sup>

Allowing then for dynamics, they continue:

In fact, a social value, acting upon individual members of the group, produces a more or less different effect on every one of them.<sup>2</sup>

For purposes of this research, the group selected for

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<sup>1</sup>Herbert Blumer, An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1939), p. 9.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

observation will include the general juvenile population, and specifically those juveniles regarded as delinquent. The qualifications for such labeling will be discussed later in this chapter.

A protege of W. I. Thomas', Ernest W. Burgess, who like Thomas came from the sociologically progressive climate at the University of Chicago, echoed the interactionist concept underlying social theory as they saw it. His articles, "The Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities,"<sup>1</sup> "The Changing American Family,"<sup>2</sup> and "The Family in a Changing Society,"<sup>3</sup> updates Thomas' earlier approach which held:

This correlation between cultural areas of the city and types of family life is not fortuitous coincidence. The pattern of family life conditions and thrives only in conformity with the folkways and mores of the local community.<sup>4</sup>

In 1920, another article by Burgess entitled "The Romantic Impulse and Family Disorganization" stated:

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<sup>1</sup>Ernest Burgess, "Family as a Unity of Interacting Personalities," Religious Education, 23 (1928), 400-410.

<sup>2</sup>Ernest Burgess, "The Changing American Family," Religious Education, 23 (1928), 410-15.

<sup>3</sup>Ernest Burgess, "Family in a Changing Society," American Journal of Sociology, 53 (1948), 417-22.

<sup>4</sup>Ernest Burgess, The Family From Institution to Companionship (New York: American Book Company, 1945), p. 69.

Hardly a day passes but the public is shocked and outraged by some form of wild and reckless behavior particularly of youth in revolt, no longer regulated by customary controls.<sup>1</sup>

These are the major grounds incorporated inferentially by the child-saving movement--and incidentally the predecessor of juvenile justice.

Not unlike political and economic policies of the day, the sociological concept of child-saving reform was considered to be "progressive". As such it drew much activist support from middle class and professional statuses. But the financial backing was the doing of the very wealthy and powerful people of the times. In New York, Mayor Stephan Allen (also president of New York Life Insurance and Trust Company), Mrs. William Astor, Stephan Girard and a host of bankers and financiers played philanthropist for the cause of juvenile justice.<sup>2</sup>

Chicago, a stronghold of liberals, was also representative of the prosperity showered upon the new humanistic movement to save the children. Those such as Louise Bowen, Ellen Henrotin (both wives of bankers), Mrs. Potter Palmer, Mrs. Perry Smith (wife of the Vice President of Chicago, Northwestern Railroad), Jane Addams, and Julia Lathrop accounted

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 70.

<sup>2</sup>Charles Loring Brace, The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years Work Among Them (New York: Wynkoop & Hallenback, 1880), pp. 282-83.

for some notable successes in the Chicago reform.<sup>1</sup>

As Thomas so aptly pointed out, this social issue (child saving) was not an isolate phenomenon. Indeed the creation of a juvenile court and probationary/counseling service is generally viewed as a most innovative and idealistic product of the age of reform.<sup>2</sup> Into the late 1960's, in fact, President Lyndon B. Johnson's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice heralded the juvenile justice system as a "progressive effort by concerned reformers to . . . solve social problems by rational, enlightened and scientific method."<sup>3</sup> Charles L. Chute saw it as "one of the greatest advances in child welfare that has ever occurred . . . no single event has contributed more to the welfare of children and their families."<sup>4</sup>

More recently, the juvenile court and related reforms have been called "a reflection of humanitarianism" and "America's great sense of philanthropy."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 283.

<sup>2</sup>Anthony Platt, The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), pp. 75-100.

<sup>3</sup>See President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1964.

<sup>4</sup>Charles L. Chute, "The Juvenile Court in Retrospect," Federal Probation, 13 (September, 1949).

<sup>5</sup>Gerherd O. W. Mueller, History of American Criminal Law Scholarship (New York: Walter E. Meyer Research Institute of Law, 1962), p. 113.

### Legalistic Overview

Legalistically, the concept of crime has been under modification by criminologists almost since its inception. The early 1930's saw a return to a strict legal definition with a report produced by Jerome Michael and Mortimer J. Adler, which adhered to strong litigating tones:

If crime is merely an instance of conduct which is proscribed by the criminal code it follows that the criminal law is the formal cause of crime. That does not mean that the law produces the behavior which it prohibits, although, as we shall see, the enforcement or administration of criminal law may be one of the factors which influences human behavior, it means only that the criminal law gives behavior its quality of criminality.<sup>1</sup>

Paul W. Tappan, a para-legal sociologist suggests that a person is a criminal because his behavior is so classified, which is tantamount to Victor Eisner's statement that theoretically, at least, a delinquent is a person under eighteen who has broken the law. However, here is a radical and perhaps the major departure of juvenile justice from statutory criminal law. Eisner continues, in actuality, a delinquent is any person who has been labeled delinquent.<sup>2</sup> This then would include all formally adjudicated or declared delinquents whose cases have been officially heard, adjudicated

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<sup>1</sup>Jerome Michael and Mortimer Adler, Crime, Law and Social Science (New York: Harcourt & Brace, 1933), p. 5.

<sup>2</sup>Victor Eisner, Delinquency Label: An Epidemiology of Juvenile Delinquency (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 27.

and disposed of in an actual juvenile court as well as unadjudicated or informally referred juvenile cases.

### Definition of Terms

To provide a working definition with which to proceed, a socio-legal concept of crime should be incorporated:

The sociology of criminal law would provide us with a framework for the study of crime and at the same time would enable us to differentiate between criminal and non-criminal . . . An explanation of criminal behavior is going to depend upon an explanation of behavior. Such an explanation involves many non-sociological factors . . . The study of social structure is sociological; the study of social systems in relation to the topic "law and society" would eventually lead to a theory of crime.<sup>1</sup>

While it is not the intent to develop such a theory in entirety, it is part and parcel of the basic issue of juvenile delinquency to deal with the entire scope of the legal and socio-psychological ramifications.

In this research, for practical reasons, the term delinquent will be applicable to include, as did Eisner's, formally adjudicated and also unadjudicated cases dealing with delinquent girls. A delinquent child will be designated as one who meets the following criteria as set forth by Section 232.2, Code of Iowa.

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<sup>1</sup>C. Ray Jeffrey, "The Structure of American Criminological Thinking," Journal of Criminal Law and Police Science, 46 (January-February, 1956), 658-672.

1. Who has violated any state law or local laws or ordinances except any offense which is exempted from this chapter by law (traffic violations).
2. Who has violated a federal law or law of another state and whose case has been referred to Juvenile Court.
3. Who is uncontrolled by his parents or guardians or legal custodians by reason of being wayward or habitually disobedient.
4. Who habitually deports himself in a manner that is injurious to himself or others.<sup>1</sup>

Referral: In this work a referral will consist of formal notification to Juvenile Court by police arrest, parental request, school or outside agency on the child's behalf or in his best interest.

Broken home: A home in which one parent is absent through death, divorce, separation, prolonged absence, non-existence, or other means.

Family solidarity: In applying family solidarity to this research it will be necessary to overlook the boundaries of culture to some extent and include in its definition, both effectively functioning parents living with other members of the immediate nuclear family. The child referred to Juvenile Court, would be a member of this group.

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<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that current interpretation of this subsection by the Iowa Crime Commission notes that the wording of subsection 3 and 4 is so vague as to probably render it unconstitutional.

### Interpretation

In the April, 1975, National Commission on Crime and Delinquency, an article entitled "Jurisdiction over Status Offenses Should be Removed From Juvenile Court" maintains the status offenses, acts committed by children (truancy, running away, consensual sexual behavior, smoking, drinking, curfew violation, disobeying authority, ungovernability, waywardness, etc.,) which would not be considered crimes if committed by adults, should be removed from the juvenile court jurisdiction.<sup>1</sup>

Further the board of directors of NCCD state that of approximately 600,000 children held annually in detention, more than one-third are status offenders; and of these about 85,000 committed yearly to correctional facilities, 23 percent boys and 70 percent of girls are also status offenders.<sup>2</sup> They maintain that as a rehabilitative versus a punitive service, the juvenile justice system should seek to secure productivity and rehabilitation of youth, rather than incarceration. As a humanitarian agency, every effort should be made to insure that "the best interest of the child" doctrine does not, as stipulated in Kent, provide "the worst of both worlds . . . neither the protection accorded to adults nor

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<sup>1</sup>National Commission on Crime and Delinquency, 21 (2) April, 1975, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 98.



the solicitous care and regenerative treatment postulated for children."<sup>1</sup> Instead the President's Crime Commission now urges a delimiting of juvenile court jurisdiction as:

Any act that is considered a crime when committed by an adult should continue to be, when charged against a juvenile, the business of juvenile court; but serious consideration at the least should be given to complete elimination of the court's power over children for non-criminal conduct.<sup>2</sup>

Where then does this responsibility lie? Community resources have increasingly been focused upon as the hope and salvation for parents and children in conflict. But before that solution can be digested and accepted as a panacea, it is this author's belief that the very essence of that conflict within the family must be more fully understood.

With that in mind, the chapter which follows will deal with the problem of family solidarity as it has been previously examined in sociological literature.

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<sup>1</sup>Kent v. United States 383 US 541, 556 (1966).

<sup>2</sup>President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 85.

## Chapter 3

### THE FAMILY AS A FOCAL UNIT OF JUVENILE CRIME

#### Theoretical Construct

One cannot tell by simply looking at a (child) whether his father lives at home. This information is routinely obtained only in juvenile court. . . . It is unlikely that the effect of this factor on delinquency rates would be to alter the actions of police (or other persons and agencies making referrals). The effect must therefore be due primarily to its influence on the juvenile. In other words, children who live with one parent are (referred) more often than those who live with two parents because they commit more violations . . . and not because (anyone) prefers to refer such children.<sup>1</sup>

As succinctly stated above, there is little reason to infer that children are referred to Juvenile Court for delinquency on the basis of parental heritage or numbers. This type of referral is often made, but the allegation then would be one of either dependency or neglect of the child due to actions or omissions of the parent. Usually the cause and effect in delinquency seem to suggest that family solidarity is only one of the contributing factors which underlies delinquent acts and thus cause a juvenile to be brought to the court's attention.

The relationships between parents and between parent and child are also critical variables in delinquency prevention.

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<sup>1</sup>Victor Eisner, Delinquency Label: The Epidemiology of Juvenile Delinquency (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 70.

In delinquency causation research, the nature and condition of family life has been often explored variable, and it has been a contention of both researchers and practitioners alike that family disorganization can serve as a mediating variable in the process of delinquency causation. For example, McCord and McCord (1959), wrote in their study that "quarrelsome and negligent homes lead to more delinquency than do broken homes,"<sup>1</sup> and Rodman and Grams quote Nye and Browning when they write that "variables measuring the quality of family relationships may be more important in the etiology of delinquency than the variables measuring the outward structure of the family,"<sup>2</sup> although they fail to conclude that the latter are of no casual import.

Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, long-time researchers in the area of juvenile delinquency, conclude from a 1950 study "that all affectional patterns of a home bear a highly significant relationship to delinquency."<sup>3</sup> Other studies have explored such variables as marital adjustment and family agreement, all basically finding that these are significantly related to measures of juvenile delinquency.

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<sup>1</sup>McCord and McCord as stated in Eisner, *ibid.*, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>3</sup>Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck, Family Environment and Delinquency (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1962), p. 199.

It would appear, then, that any program designed to combat delinquency must provide some assistance to the family unit as a whole or, at minimum, utilize the family context as a major focal point in developing specific guidelines.

### Past Research Findings

This author would certainly not assume to have cornered the market on the theory of family as a logical causation to delinquency. Many previous researchers have concentrated on the family variables. For instance, in the "Studies of Incidence" chapter of his book, Shideler, as early as 1918, reported the following findings: "A comparative study of family disintegration as related to juvenile delinquency results in 51.8% broken homes in delinquency."<sup>1</sup> Slavson in 1926, reported that in his study 54.8 percent of those delinquents researched came from broken homes, whereas 69.7 percent of those non-delinquents (control groups) came from unbroken homes.<sup>2</sup>

Following, is a summarization of the various findings compiled by past researchers in their attempt to locate and/or isolate the family variable measurement in juvenile delinquency.

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<sup>1</sup>Shideler as cited in Otto Pollak, Family Dynamics and Female Sexual Delinquency (New York: Science and Behavior Books, 1969), p. 91.

<sup>2</sup>Slavson as cited, op. cit., p. 92.

Elliott and Merrill in Social Disorganization, state that family background of the child, more than any other factors tend to militate against his growing up successfully without conflict with law. In fact the major handicap of a delinquent child is that he has not chosen his family wisely.<sup>1</sup>

In direct support of this, Monahan concludes from his research, in 1957,

For social analysts, broken homes may be regarded either as a symptom or consequence of a larger process, but for the child, it becomes a social fact with which he has to abide . . . That so many children surpass this handicap is an exemplification of their own resilience and demonstration of presence of other forces acting toward the child's socialization in the community rather than proof of unimportance of normal family life.<sup>2</sup>

Shaw and McKay reported in 1931 that by that time "the family has received more attention than any other social institution in studies of the problem of juvenile delinquency,"<sup>3</sup> with particular emphasis upon family disorganization--or broken homes. Although it proved a somewhat non-important factor for boys (only 29.0 percent from broken homes) a 1933 study by Hodgkiss refined his study to include girls and discovered 66.9 percent did indeed come from broken homes.<sup>4</sup>

A study by Richard Sterne in 1964, published in his

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<sup>1</sup>Elliott and Merrill as cited in Pollak, op. cit., p. 95.

<sup>2</sup>Monahan as cited in Pollak, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>3</sup>Shaw and McKay as cited in Pollak, op. cit., p. 98.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 99.

book Delinquent Conduct and Broken Homes, states from a purely sociological point of view that the family, as the first primary group, represents a child's first sampling of society. He adds that logically following from this idea, a healthy family serves to provide needed security and affection and thus can tolerate some aggression and frustration and absorb it through acceptance and love. On the other hand a bad family experience undermines the child's confidence and adds tension to the situation, thus allowing for an initially bad self-concept for the juvenile.

Family Dynamics and Female Sexual Delinquency, edited by Otto Pollak and Alfred Friedman, researched in California and published in 1969, suggested the following conclusions.

A. Every human is a member of three families (1) unit into which he is born; (2) one created by marriage; (3) one of child to which he relates as a dependent.

B. In the latter an impairment in development through lack of gratification can result in either partial arrest or actual regression of development. In either case one of two consequences will occur. The "acting out" will come in the form of delinquent acts or alcoholism or sexual deviation, or "acting out" will succeed in formation of psychoneuroses, psychoses or suicide.

C. The family acts as chief gratifier of major needs, working on an "exchange" principle which in turn forms a system-like arrangement of interaction and dependency in which every member of the family unit maintains a specified role.

D. In the case of young girls, it is often due to frustration of imperception of the role, denial of search for pleasure and affection or the like which causes a girl to seek substitute gratification.

E. Usually adolescent girls possess a limited repertoire of delinquent acts, specifically (1) sex acting out; (2) vagrancy; (3) running away; and (4) kleptomania.<sup>1</sup>

Incorporated in their book, Pollak and Friedman quote from a study done by Philly in 1963, which states that girls "are customarily designated as ungovernable or as having deserted their homes."<sup>2</sup> In summary they state that the unmet need or deprivation of closeness and tenderness in girls, together with a longing for a suitable "father figure," overpermissiveness, hostility and suspicion of parents and confusion over sex identity account for the underlying reasons leading to most female sexual delinquency--most indicatively, sexual delinquency.<sup>3</sup>

Ruth Morris, in a study conducted in Flint, Michigan, which consisted of juveniles of age 13-16 (56 girls and 56 boys) found that "obstacles to maintaining effective social relationships will lead girls more than boys to delinquency. Delinquent girls were found to come from broken homes more often than non-delinquent girls, as well as from families having more "perceived" intra-family tensions."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Pollak and Friedman, op. cit., pp. 219-231.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>3</sup>John Philly as cited in Pollak, op. cit., p. 116.

<sup>4</sup>Ruth R. Morris, "Female Delinquency and Relational Problems," Social Forces, 43, No. 1 (1964), 83.

Two of the most recent and informative studies come from Dr. Barbara Ann Kay, doing a comparative study of female prisoners at the Ohio State Penitentiary<sup>1</sup> and from Gisela Konopka's study of adolescents, researching juvenile girls adjudicated delinquent and committed to the State Training School.<sup>2</sup>

Primarily significant in Dr. Kay's study is the fact that her 1964 sample of women tended to show a slightly higher percentage of involvement during juvenile years (before age 18) than did men; this is compared to a 1960-61 study which showed juvenile involvement of women less than men. However, the 1964 sample did report that female arrests after age 18 was less than that of males.<sup>3</sup> With regard to the legality aspect, Dr. Kay administered a "law scale" which measured responses and attitudes of inmates toward law and legal institutions. In 72 instances out of 73, female prisoners responded more negatively toward law and legal institutions than male offenders.<sup>4</sup> Dr. Kay goes on to pose a plausible and possible explanation for this:

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<sup>1</sup>Barbara Ann Kay, "Differential Self Perceptions of Female Offenders," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1961).

<sup>2</sup>Gisela Konopka, Adolescent Girl in Conflict (New York: Prentice Hall, 1966).

<sup>3</sup>Kay, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., pp. 79-83.



First, the women offenders who finally get to prison are more adversely selected than male prisoners in the legal process. Women have very, very much less chance to be reported, to be arrested, to be convicted, and to be committed than men. Those who are ultimately sent to prison are the very worst of the total crop, and hence it should be expected that their attitudes toward courts, judges . . . should be anti-law. Second, women personalize arrest, jail, detention, court trial, commitment to prison. The first possible explanation follows the line of thought: When she is bad she is very, very bad--and she must exclude progressive badness to get processed through arrest, detention, trial and commitment. The second explanation follows the line of thought that wrath in women is more readily engendered than in men; they take things to heart more readily; they have longer memories for inequities; they are more sensitive to concern for personal status<sup>1</sup> than men. We might call this the feline syndrome.<sup>1</sup>

Possibly one of the front runners in the field of adolescent female deviancy and delinquency has been Gisela Konopka,<sup>2</sup> who has in this author's estimation, made important advances into the analysis of contemporary problems focusing upon female juvenile delinquency.

Using the hypothesis of Merton as a basis to approach to life situations, Ms. Konopka personally interviewed individuals committed to the State Training School for Girls.

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<sup>1</sup>Barbara Ann Kay and Christine G. Schultz, "Divergence of Attitudes Toward Constituted Authorities between Male and Female Felon Inmates," in Walter C. Reckless and Charles L. Newman, eds., Interdisciplinary Problems in Criminology: Papers of the American Society of Criminology, 1964 (Columbus: The College of Commerce and Administration, The Ohio State University, 1965), p. 212.

<sup>2</sup>Konopka, op. cit.

She posed the following questions:

1. Was there ever in your life an adult whom you really trusted?
2. Do you or did you have friends? What kinds?
3. Have you ever belonged to any kind of organized group?
4. What are the things you like to do?
5. What would you like to do if you were not here?
6. What would you like your life to be when you grow up--say age 20?<sup>1</sup>

What she discovered was that most delinquent adolescent girls show individual personal problems. Secondly the delinquent girl suffers from lack of opportunity and success but at the same time is never separated from the need for people and interpersonal involvement. Much of the notorious mother-daughter competition stems from this fact, based on primary identification with mother-figure and simultaneously a fierce sense of independence from competition with her.<sup>2</sup>

Generally the girls interviewed had a poor image of adults, as brutal, ineffective, phony and anonymously authoritarian. With respect to parents and parental responsibility the Konopka study disclosed that a majority of delinquent girls came from economically deprived families where parents themselves live with frustration, poverty, ignorance, fear and degradation;<sup>3</sup> making the children an inescapable nuisance

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 45-60.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., pp. 70-86.

if not a harness. Many girls were from fatherless homes where mom was everything, or tried to be (thus reinforcing the mother-daughter conflict), and allowing for the fact that men existed as occasional intruders into this realm if at all.<sup>1</sup> Altogether this fostered traits of self-destruction, revenge and rebellion within the adolescent girl, who was looking for more excellence than the adult would or could give, and was disappointed with the "feet of clay" she discovered.<sup>2</sup>

Her seeming key to the understanding of the problem, notwithstanding the legal aspect, focuses on several points. First is loneliness. "For in its innermost depths, youth is lonelier than old age."<sup>3</sup> This is further exemplified by the driving need for association and acceptance by associates and peers, coupled by a desperate need for closeness and complicated by the ultimate despair of being condemned or rejected.<sup>4</sup> Secondly imperative to understanding is the dual-perspective of rapid cultural change (also for purposes of this paper, legal change) together with the emancipation of women.

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 61.

<sup>3</sup>Anne Frank, Diary of a Young Girl (New York: Dell, 1952), p. 28.

<sup>4</sup>Konopka, op. cit., p. 61.

Here the Gestalt theory of an individual being an entity comes to bear heavily. It is suggested that while on one hand females have now acquired a co-equal status with males, on the other hand there is no path model upon which to base their new acquisition of a role as a "woman". Even more so for adolescents, this dilemma further alienates juveniles as a total person. They feel a thwarted desire for adventure, and a demand to put ideals into practice, denial of self-fulfillment and despair of being condemned for being totally bad.<sup>1</sup> The underlying controversy is "what should a girl be?"<sup>2</sup> Prior to the early 1960's the implication to that answer was an assumption of the sugar and spice and everything nice philosophy. Today however, delinquents are overwhelmed by the apparent discrepancy between what they should be as opposed to what they are, as a maturing individual, female personality.

### Interpretation

Personality then, more specifically exclusive individuality, is the theory construct on which this research proceeds, with the implied casual relationship to familial solidarity and organization. In line with the aforementioned voluminous studies and research, it will be the intent of the author to produce a quasi-replication of these studies and

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<sup>1</sup>Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

to extend and re-evaluate the findings based on data available in Des Moines, Polk County, Iowa.

## Chapter 4

### METHODOLOGY AND DESIGN

#### Proposed Working Hypothesis

In a more descriptive type of research, an empirical survey of the Polk County Juvenile Court records, would provide the basis for testing and evaluating the following general and specific hypothesis:

##### General:

1. During the period from 1960 to 1974 juvenile delinquency has increased at rapid rates nationwide.
  - A. In the same time period from 1960 to 1974, the rate of incidence of referrals for juvenile delinquency in Polk County, Iowa, has increased at a rapid rate.
  - B. Within the same span, the rate of female juvenile delinquency has more than doubled with the scope of behavior changing from a sexual basis to aggressive and/or criminal.
2. While juvenile delinquency has generally been on the increase, the problem shows a most significant rate for girls being referred to juvenile courts.
  - A. Of those girls referred to juvenile court for delinquency, more come from a broken or unstable home than from stable homes.
  - B. More of these girls account for at least part of their delinquent behavior as a result of inadequate or non-existent parenting.
  - C. A high proportion of those delinquent girls under observation have come from father-lacking homes and tend to resent this or feel inferior, seeing themselves as a direct cause of father's absence.

- D. The girls' identification as a female adult suffers greatly due to imperception or lack of family identification with parents.

### Theoretical Conceptualization

This thesis will seek to be eclectic in scope, i.e., selecting from those perspectives that appear to provide the major amount of heuristic understanding, with the general framework having a characteristic of being primarily symbolic interactional in nature.

In almost all research the key to a great deal of the problem and its understanding seems to stem from several basic overriding assumptional hypotheses. For this research, these contentions are:

1. a transactional (i.e., interactional) loss of identity from adolescence to adulthood heightened by loneliness, primarily when parents are unavailable or lacking.
2. rapid cultural change in which the emancipation of women has proffered a co-equal status with men and at the same time obscured to some degree the sense of belonging, especially in regard to what a girl "should be".

It is believed that these hypotheses are self-explanatory and that succeeding chapters will allow them to become more empirically evident.

### Data Collection

Categorically this is a descriptive and exploratory survey, based on the records of the female juvenile offenders seen in the Juvenile Court since 1916. They are limited to

those cases which have been handled officially in the eyes of the court (i.e., a filing on the petition has or had been made at one time, a court hearing was or will be held with an adjudication either made, or held in abeyance, and a disposition of the individual case decided upon).

### The Sample

A total of one hundred cases which sufficed for purposes of this research due to the unwieldy numbers of possible cases which needed to be reduced to a manageable size will be utilized as randomly selected from the files of Polk County Juvenile Court,<sup>1</sup> and will constitute the sample for this paper. The method of collection consisted of locating the docket file for each of the respective years and using every other case which was filed as a delinquency matter. This was done for all years except 1975 in which the first 30 cases were utilized. This was done in this manner due to the time element, only having had six and a half months with which to work. All of these cases have in common (1) an allegation of delinquency as pertaining to the statutes of the Code of Iowa, and (2) are concerned with females.

Of these 100 cases, 30 percent are current for the years 1974-75; 20 percent from 1967-68; 20 percent from

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<sup>1</sup>The author, while using official closed public records of the dockets from Polk County Juvenile Court, guarantees confidentiality of all individuals.



1959-60; 10 percent from 1949-50; 10 percent from 1939-40; and 10 percent from years 1916-17.

The records (see Appendix A and Appendix B) will also be scrutinized for indications of (1) lack of identity and belonging; (2) child's feelings toward family, especially one or both parents; (3) any reasons given for these feelings; and (4) legal descriptions. No attempt will be made to distinguish between, religion, age or recidivism, although race and income will be recorded.

#### Measures and Indexes

In determining the dependent variables, the following criteria were used: race, crime reported, family organization, income of head of the household, and stability vs. instability of the family unit. Family Solidarity constituted the independent variable.

Under the specific category of race, the breakdown was Caucasian (white), Negro (black), and Other. (The "other" was so significantly small, 1 percent, so as not to include it.)

With respect to the crime alleged, an appendix previously compiled and used by the San Francisco Police Department and Juvenile Court in 1960 and 1964 was utilized.<sup>1</sup> From this list, a breakdown into four major subheadings was

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix C.

developed:

1. Status Offenses: to include any offense such as incorrigibility, truancy, misbehavior, unwed pregnancy or any other offense not considered criminal if done by an adult.
2. Drug Offenses: to include any use, misuse or abuse of drugs including alcohol.
3. Theft: to include petty theft, shoplifting, burglary, robbery, larceny, etc.
4. Assault: to include any physical harm or cause of action.<sup>1</sup>

The designation as to Family Organization will be simply Matriarchial, Patriarchial, or Equilitarian.

As to Income of the Head of the Household, for purposes of this research, the head of the household will be defined as that adult responsible for the care, custody and control of minors in interest. The basic income figures were not tallied in monetary figures because these were not readily available, but rather the occupational role positions (inclusive of finances) as set forth in Hollingshead's Two Factor Index of Social Position will be utilized.<sup>2</sup> To simplify matters these will be categorized as:

High Income: higher executives, proprietors of large concerns, major professionals, business managers, proprietors of medium sized businesses and lesser professionals.

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<sup>1</sup>In cases of multiple referrals, the seriousness of the crime will be the indicator, with the most serious offense being recorded as primary.

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix D.

Middle Income: administrative personnel, small independent businesses and minor professionals, semi-professionals, farm owners (over \$25,000), clerical and sales workers, technicians, owners of little businesses and skilled manual laborers.

Low Income: small farmers (under \$10,000), machine operators, semi-skilled employees, unskilled workers, share-croppers, relief recipients and the unemployed.

Lastly the category of Family Solidarity will be incorporated. This will be further broken down to sub-headings of (1) Married; (2) Divorced; (3) Separated (for whatever reason, death, incompatibility, institutionalization, etc.); and (4) Remarried. When possible these sub-headings will be divided into either Stable or Non-Stable home situations. The stability index will rely on the researcher's analysis of supportive environment and the juvenile's own self-perception of her individual home-life situation. By its very nature, this will be the most subjective factor within the study.

### Analytic Techniques

To assess the data obtained from this survey, tables visualizing the variables will be presented and analyzed comparatively. The respective time periods will first be examined for racial characteristics, criminal categories, income level (status) of the head of household and family organization and solidarity, along with stability. Separate charts were constructed for each classification, and after compiling these individually, the most significant factors

were incorporated into an overall perspective of trends in the Polk County Juvenile Court.

## Chapter 5

### DATA ANALYSIS

#### Findings

In this chapter the author will attempt to show the objective and analytical results obtained from data in this survey of female offenders in Polk County Juvenile Court.

The following tables are representative of the information compiled from the Polk County Juvenile Court records concentrating upon respective variables for delineated years, concluding with a total picture of the survey.

Table 1

Family Solidarity of Female Juveniles in Polk County,  
Iowa, by Types of Crime for the Years 1916-1917  
(N=10)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Status	2	20	0	0	2	20	2	20
Drug	2	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Theft	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Assault	0	0	0	0	1	20	0	0

The above table (Table 1) is indicative of the types of crimes reported in the 1916-17 time span. During this period the data obtained shows that 60 percent of all crimes committed were status offenses. Secondly were offenses

involving drugs, which accounted for 20 percent. Another 10 percent of those crimes listed during this time period involved theft, and the remaining 10 percent accounted for assaults or violence against a person.

During the sample years 1939-40, as noted in Table 2, a more dominant trend became noticeable in the types of crimes recorded. The majority of all the crimes in this period, 80 percent were classified as status offenses. There were a mere 10 percent involving drug use, and another 10 percent dealing with theft. There were no assault allegations discerned from this sample.

Table 2

Family Solidarity of Female Juveniles in Polk County,  
Iowa, by Types of Crime for the Years 1939-1940  
(N=10)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Status	2	20	1	10	3	30	2	20
Drug	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10
Theft	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Assault	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

As indicated in Table 3, there seems to be a marked return to earlier pattern of crimes as reported in juvenile court. Between 1949-50, 60 percent of the total survey is classified as status offenses with 10 percent recorded as

drug violations; another 10 percent accountable as assault offenses; and the remaining 20 percent falling in the class of theft.

Table 3

Family Solidarity of Female Juveniles in Polk County,  
Iowa, by Types of Crime for the Years 1949-1950  
(N=10)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Status	1	10	3	30	2	20	0	0
Drug	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	0
Theft	1	10	0	0	1	10	0	0
Assault	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	0

In the 1959-60 study as depicted in Table 4, the see-saw effect once again seems to lean toward heavier involvement in status cases, with 80 percent being found in this class. Only 10 percent were involved in drug offenses and another 10 percent under the heading of theft. As illustrated in Table 2, there were no accountable assaults listed for this time period.

Table 4

Family Solidarity of Female Juveniles in Polk County,  
Iowa, by Types of Crime for the Years 1959-1960  
(N=20)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Status	7	35	4	20	2	10	3	15
Drug	0	0	1	5	1	5	0	0
Theft	1	5	1	5	0	0	0	0
Assault	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Although during the time period 1967-68 there is again evidence of a heavy emphasis on status offenses, there is, as noted in Table 5, a simultaneous increase in the tendency toward drug violations. This is apparent in viewing the 30 percent of crimes listed for drug related offenses. There are reports of 60 percent of the selected cases involving status offenses, and the remaining 10 percent fall into the category of theft. Once again no commissions of assault appear during this sample.



Table 5

Family Solidarity of Female Juveniles in Polk County,  
Iowa, by Types of Crime for the Years 1967-1968  
(N=20)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Status	6	30	4	20	1	5	1	5
Drug	2	10	1	5	2	10	1	5
Theft	1	5	0	0	0	0	1	5
Assault	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

As recorded in the 1974-75 survey, Table 6, the noteworthy factor is that for the first time there is not in evidence a majority of status offenses, the percentage falling to 50 percent. Noteably 20 percent of the total crimes have to do with drugs and another 23-1/3 percent involve thefts. The remaining 6-2/3 percent deal with assault and crimes against the person.

Table 6

Family Solidarity of Female Juveniles in Polk County,  
Iowa, by Types of Crime for the Years 1974-1975  
(N=30)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Status	7	23-1/3	2	6-2/3	1	3-1/3	5	16-2/3
Drug	3	10	1	3-1/3	0	0	2	6-2/3
Theft	1	3-1/3	5	16-2/3	1	3-1/3	0	0
Assault	1	3	1	3	0	0	0	0

Lastly, Table 7 was compiled from the available data to indicate a general trend in the types of crimes committed over the period of time comprising the entire sample. The results of this table show that a majority of all crimes for female delinquency tend to be grouped under the heading of status offenses, 63 percent. Next significant would be drug related offenses of which 18 percent of the persons in the survey are involved. Just slightly less, 15 percent, of the study deals with theft of some type, with a mere 4 percent accountable as assault. Also significant is the fact that 40 percent of all the families recorded appear to be married households, including 25 percent status offenders. However, 60 percent of the families report non-traditional marital status (divorced, separated, or remarried) of which 38 percent are seen as status offenses.

Table 7

Total Family Solidarity of Female Juveniles in Polk County,  
Iowa, by Types of Crime for the Years 1916-1975  
(N=100)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Status	25	25	14	14	11	11	13	13
Drug	8	8	3	3	3	3	4	4
Theft	6	6	6	6	2	2	1	1
Assault	1	1	1	1	2	2	0	0

During the years 1916-17, a definite trend seems to be indicated about family solidarity in relation to stability as shown in Table 8 by a 50 percent married status, including 40 percent considered stable. Of the remaining categories, divorced, separated and remarried, none showed signs of stability, whereas the 30 percent of separated homes and 20 percent of remarried families were all classed as unstable. A total of 60 percent of all the families were seen as unstable, as opposed to only 40 percent stable.

Table 8

General Family Solidarity by General Family Stability for  
Female Juveniles in Polk County, Iowa, for the  
Years 1916-1917  
(N=10)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Stable	4	40	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unstable	1	10	0	0	3	30	2	20

For the years, 1939-40, a more clear-cut picture, shown in Table 9, is indicated regarding the influence of solidarity on delinquency. All of the married families, 30 percent were considered stable. This is in contrast to all of the divorced homes, 10 percent of which were seen as unstable. Also in examining the separated families, 30 percent were viewed as unstable; and of all the families in which remarriage had occurred, 30 percent being classed as unstable. In general, 70 percent of the total survey for this time were seen as unstable as opposed to 30 percent stable.

Table 9

General Family Solidarity by General Family Stability for  
 Female Juveniles in Polk County, Iowa, for the  
 Years 1939-1940  
 (N=10)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Stable	3	30	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unstable	0	0	1	10	3	30	3	30

Again, as illustrated in Table 10, during this time span, 1949-50, a definite trend appears as indicated by the fact that 20 of 30 percent of married households were interpreted as stable whereas in contrast the entire 30 percent of divorced cases were seen as unstable, as were all of the separated cases, 40 percent. There was no incidence of the category of remarriage in this sample. Generally, only 25 percent of the families were categorized to be stable, in comparison to 75 percent viewed as unstable.

Table 10

General Family Solidarity by General Family Stability for  
Female Juveniles in Polk County, Iowa, for the  
Years 1949-1950  
(N=10)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Stable	2	20	0	0	0	0	0	0
Unstable	1	10	3	30	4	40	0	0

In Table 11, it can once again be noted that there is strong evidence of an overall trend toward a relationship in the stability in family solidarity to delinquency as evidenced in the fact that a total of 75 percent of the entire sample for the time period of 1959-60 was considered to be unstable, as opposed to only 25 percent stable. This can be further broken down into data showing that 20 percent of the 40 percent of married cases were stable, only half. All of the 35 percent of divorced cases, and the entire 10 percent of remarried cases ranked as unstable. Of the remaining 20 percent held by separated types of families, only 5 percent seemed to be stable.

Table 11

General Family Solidarity by General Family Stability for  
 Female Juveniles in Polk County, Iowa, for the  
 Years 1959-1960  
 (N=20)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Stable	4	20	0	0	1	5	0	0
Unstable	4	20	7	35	2	10	2	10

During the years 1967-68, see Table 12, some notable changes began to emerge with respect to family solidarity itself, which in turn influenced delinquency. For example, for the first time the percentage of married cases ranked higher as unstable than stable, 20 percent stable versus 25 percent unstable. The classification of remarried however, is seen to have its first indications of stability being recorded, 5 percent stable as opposed to 10 percent unstable. Again divorce, which accounted for 25 percent, and separated, totaling 15 percent, were all considered unstable, with a total once more of 75 percent unstable compared to 25 percent stable.

Table 12

General Family Solidarity by General Family Stability for  
 Female Juveniles in Polk County, Iowa, for the  
 Years 1967-1968  
 (N=20)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Stable	4	20	0	0	0	0	1	5
Unstable	5	25	5	25	3	15	2	10

The most current years, as noted in Table 13, 1974-75 showed a mixture of factors. Foremost is the indication that the divorced category shows some stability, albeit small, 10 percent stable out of 30 percent. The married cases tended to split half and half, 20 percent stable, 20 percent unstable. Only the classifications dealing with separation, 6-2/3 percent and remarriage, 23-1/3 percent were seen as totally unstable. Altogether this time period showed a total of 70 percent unstable cases in opposition to 30 per stable.



Table 13

General Family Solidarity by General Family Stability for  
Female Juveniles in Polk County, Iowa, for the  
Years 1974-75  
(N=30)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Stable	6	20	3	10	0	0	0	0
Unstable	6	20	6	20	2	6-2/3	7	23-1/3

A total table was compiled, see Table 14, representing the entire random sample, and it is here that the trends of the overall influence of family solidarity in relation to juvenile delinquency is most notable. The marital status would seem to continue as dominant, comprising 40 percent of the total. However, only 23 percent of that number is stable. Within the category of divorce, accounting for 25 percent of the total, only 3 percent is considered stable. Even more significant is the fact that of the 18 percent classed as separated, only 1 percent was seen as having stability, and only 1 percent of the 17 percent remarried were thought to have attained stability. Summarily, out of the 100 cases, 72 percent were seen as unstable home situations in contrast to 28 percent viewed as stable.

Table 14

Total General Family Solidarity by General Family  
Stability for Female Juveniles in Polk County,  
Iowa, for the Years 1916-1975  
(N=100)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Stable	23	23	3	3	1	1	1	1
Unstable	17	17	22	22	17	17	16	16

Finally, a further schematic to support the construct of the family solidarity and stability as influential to juvenile delinquency is designated in Table 15. The results obtained by compiling this data indicate a total of 77 percent reporting unstable home-life conditions, with 23 percent showing varying degrees of stability.

Table 15

Types of Crimes Committed by Female Juveniles in  
Polk County, Iowa, by Family Stability  
(N=100)

Characteristic	Status		Drug		Theft		Assault	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Stable	11	11	6	6	6	6	0	0
Unstable	52	52	12	12	9	9	4	4

Tables were designed and computed with respect to race, income and organization. They were however not found to contain any substantial differences as far as influential or determinative value on this specific study. The tables illustrating these characteristics may be found on the succeeding pages.

A general trend, as illustrated in Table 16, seems to be indicative of the fact that 39 percent of all families are married, of which 23 percent represent paternalistic households. In the other categories of solidarity, there is heavy emphasis on maternalistic influence: 23 percent out of 25 percent divorced; 17 percent of 18 percent separated; and 11 percent of the entire 18 percent remarried. There is evidence of a majority of maternalistic homes, 54 percent as compared to 29 percent paternalistic and 17 percent equalitarian.

Table 16

Family Solidarity of Female Juveniles in Polk County,  
Iowa, by Family Organization for Total Sample  
(N=100)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Maternalistic	3	3	23	23	17	17	11	11
Paternalistic	23	23	2	2	0	0	4	4
Equalitarian	13	13	0	0	1	1	3	3

The statistics enumerated in Table 17 here bespeak themselves. There we find a total of 81 percent white as opposed to 18 percent black juveniles that were seen in juvenile court, as recorded in the survey of cases.<sup>1</sup>

Table 17

Family Solidarity of Female Juveniles in Polk County,  
Iowa, by Race for Total Sample  
(N=100)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
White	40	40	18	18	11	11	12	12
Black	1	1	6	6	6	6	5	5

This particular survey does not seem to illuminate any significant characteristic with regard to the income of the cases noted, except for a fairly normal scattered distribution as to the categories of high, middle and low (see Table 18). As would be expected, the vast amount of cases fell into the classification of middle income bracket, 52 percent. Only 9 percent of the survey was considered high income and 39 percent were categorized as low income families.

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<sup>1</sup>A third characteristic of race, designated "other" was also examined, but its significance was so small, 1 percent of the sample, that it was not used in the final tally.

Table 18

Family Solidarity of Female Juveniles in Polk County,  
Iowa, by Income for Total Sample  
(N=100)

Characteristic	Married		Divorced		Separated		Remarried	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
High Income	5	5	2	2	0	0	2	2
Middle Income	33	33	8	8	5	5	6	6
Low Income	2	2	14	14	14	14	9	9

## Chapter 6

### CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

#### Conclusions

Ultimately, one must come to grips with the basic underlying hypothesis--in this case, does family solidarity and organization influence a tendency toward female delinquency; if so, how, to what extent and under what circumstances.

This researcher does not suppose to have all the answers, possibly not all the questions, but it would seem from the data gathered in this study that several analytical statements can be advanced:

1. Crime statistics have shown an increased frequency in the number of delinquency cases being brought before juvenile authorities.
2. Generally speaking, there has been a notable shift in female delinquency acts from status crime such as incorrigibility, truancy and sexual acting out to public criminal offenses, such as possession and use of drugs (including alcohol) and varying degrees of robbery and assault. (As of July 1, 1975, any status offender in Polk County has been reclassified from a delinquent to a child in need of special assistance.)
3. For a majority of these juveniles, it becomes evident that there is indeed some correlation between their delinquent referral and family solidarity, be it with natural parents, separated, divorced or remarried step-parents with minor children living with them. This seems to be true because of the small number that are solid, supportive and stable marriages.
4. This would tend to give credence to the fact that girls who come from homes where there is

a strong father-figure image and solid parenting tend to be less inclined toward delinquent acts opposed to homes in which there is no father figure, and no consistent or adequate parenting. It would appear that especially in caucasian families, where the traditionally accepted social norm has been a two-parent family, that girls who are deprived of this factor tend to act out in socially and legally unacceptable ways.

Of the girls the author personally interviewed (all of the thirty girls within the 1974-75 span), 93 percent related that they turned to peer acceptance and approval and listed this as causative for their problems; 91 percent listed family problems as a primary cause for their situation. Further, of these thirty girls, none felt that there was a clear, unchangeable ideal of "womanhood" to which they were drawn.

### Evaluations

It is difficult at best to gauge the importance of family life upon the emotional and social development or deviance of juveniles. Far greater and better theorists have tried time and again to construct a theory in this regard. However, sociology, like most other behavioral sciences, tends to revolve in a pendulum-type sequence, to wit: it would seem to swing from one extreme to another with regard to any given perspective. Thus at any specific time, a certain theory would fall somewhere between total acceptance or rejection. This certainly must be the case for family solidarity. In researching the questions, opinions have ranged from

heavy emphasis on family influence and domination in the early 20th century to almost nil importance in the middle of this century.

Presently it is this author's opinion that while we are still caught up in this latter contemporary viewpoint, the pendulum has already begun its reverse swing to the opposite direction.

Legalistically this same pattern is being observed. There had been a change in emphasis from treating children equally as adults at the turn of the last century to a more protective type (parens patriae) attitude. Now, with current social attitudes, there again seems to be a fluctuation of priorities, emphasizing individual civil rights and moving toward a trend of more equalitarian justice for children and adults alike.

Again speaking from personal experiences as a Deputy Probation Officer for Polk County Juvenile Court, this author can only comment on general trends as noted and reported heretofore. Parents seem to be throwing up their hands with cliches like "I can't do anything with her," or "You know you can't control them," and "I just don't know what to do. I give up." Kids seem to sense that despair, and frustrated by it themselves, act out in retaliation.

#### Suggestions for further Research

Part of the innate difficulty in this research is that it is to some extent by its very nature, subjective.



Watson says,

The problem that presents itself as crucial (for social psychology) concerns the field that is opened up by introspection: this field apparently could not be dealt with by a purely objective psychology which only studies conduct as it takes place for the observer.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps future research will find a way to isolate objectivity within the scope of this particular problem. In that case they may be able to finally prove, disprove or forsake any cause and effect relationship between family solidarity and juvenile delinquency. However, this researcher would maintain from evidence gathered, that at least present methods of objective sample survey and subjective criteria analysis support the fact that there is a parallel between the breakdown of socially acceptable family life and juvenile delinquency which does indeed exist.

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<sup>1</sup>Don Martindale, The Nature and Types of Social Theory (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1960), p. 354.

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## APPENDIX A



FAMILY NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_

JUVENILE DOCKET No. \_\_\_\_\_

Officer \_\_\_\_\_

**FAMILY RECORD**

Date	Addresses	Phone	Date and Place of Marriages, Separations

Family	Date of Birth	Birth Place	Occupation or School	Religious Affiliation
FATHER				
1. (Soc. Sec. No. ) (Mil. Ser. No. )				
STEPPATHER				
2. (Soc. Sec. No. ) (Mil. Ser. No. )				
MOTHER				
3. (Soc. Sec. No. )				
STEPMOTHER				
4. (Soc. Sec. No. )				
CHILDREN				
A				
B				
C				
D				
E				
F				
G				
H				
I				
OTHERS IN HOME				
5.				
6.				
7.				
8.				
9.				

## APPENDIX B

ANNOTATED OUTLINEFor TheSUMMARY AND SOCIAL INVESTIGATION

(Revised Aug. 14, 1974)

Date :  
Prepared by:IN RE :  
Born :  
Parents:I. INTAKE INFORMATION:

(Paragraph 1) Date of referral, by whom referred, police report number if applicable, brief statement of the facts surrounding the referral incident or situation.

(Paragraph 2) Date of Referee Session, who was present, including attorney. Did the child admit, deny, or remain silent regarding the offense. What action was taken at the Referee Session: detained, released (to whom), and was there a special instruction or set of conditions established?

(Paragraph 3) "A petition alleging (delinquency, dependency, and/or neglect) was signed by Referee and name, and by parent and name) stating as follows: (verbatim statement of the specific allegations) \_\_\_\_\_".

SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS:

Does the child's present version, or in neglect or abuse cases the parents' version, of the story differ from that given at the Intake Session? If so, how?

What other events have occurred since Intake that are of importance? (runaways, home quarrels, school suspension, further manifestations of delinquency, dependency or neglect, payment of restitution, improvements or failures to improve the situation which led to the Filing).

DELINQUENT, DEPENDENT, and/or NEGLECT PATTERN:

(Use only those portions of the heading which apply)

When did the behavior or situation manifesting the pattern begin? Include previous referrals to police, juvenile court, PCDSS, or other appropriate agencies. Include unofficial as

well as official case dispositions. When appropriate, include runaways, chronic fights, school behaviors, failures to provide for or protect the child, or any item which tends to illustrate the behavior pattern whether part of a reported record or not.

The appropriate police records bureau should be contacted in every case.

## II. FAMILY HISTORY:

### Residence:

(Referring to residence of the child.)

How long has this family resided at present address? How long in Polk County? Where did they live prior to present residence? Has this family moved around frequently?

### Father:

Begin by indicating the sources of the information. ("The following was reported by \_\_\_\_\_").

(Paragraph 1) Name, age, physical description, education, employment history, health history, military records, court and/or police contacts and dispositions. Any other significant background factors.

(Paragraph 2) Observed personality traits, attitude toward the referral incidents, degree of cooperation with the Court.

Mother: Same as Father.

Step-parents: Same data.

### Siblings:

Use this heading only if a sibling situation is pertinent to the case.

Others in the Home: Only if pertinent.

### Relative Resources:

List names and locations of relatives who might be considered as possible placement resources, if such would appear to be a possible future plan. In all apparently possible placement cases, these should be shown, or this section should indicate that relative resources have been considered and eliminated. If placement seems highly unlikely, exclude this heading.

### Socio-Economics:

Brief statement of family financial status, using income figures if known. Description of home, housekeeping and maintenance, and neighborhood.

### Religion:

Parents' and child's church affiliations. Give significant factors regarding family's religious life.

### Family Dynamics:

(Paragraph 1) Give source of information. State whether verified and how. Date and place of parents (natural or adoptive) marriage. Previous and subsequent marriages and reason for termination. Divorce dates and places.

(Paragraph 2) Present marital adjustment of parents. If divorced, problems leading thereto. Try to be specific.

(Paragraph 3) Parents' attitudes toward their children, particularly the children in question. Such observations as affection, rejection, abuse, supervision, guidance, discipline (who administers and by what means) and the general nature of the relationship of the child with each parent.

III. CHILD: State full name, Caucasian, Negro, Spanish, Oriental or other.

### Personal History:

(Paragraph 1) Date and place of birth and how verified. Always Verify! Give physical description, health history including significant previous illnesses or injuries, physical defects or sensory defects, failure to thrive, maternal or nutritional deprivation.

(Paragraph 2) Significant parental complaints or compliments regarding the child, parental aspirations or the lack thereof, sibling relationships. In general, the parents' view of the child. State information source.

(Paragraph 3) The child's view of himself and his home: attitude toward home; parent to which he best relates and why; how he views discipline and supervision situation; does he view himself as being an integral part of the family.

School Report:

Names and locations of schools attended, grades failed and the reasons therefor, present grade placement and academic adjustment, social and disciplinary adjustment, suspensions, and child's attitude toward school. If withdrawn from school, state when and why. Compare apparent ability with achievement in school. In neglect cases, cite observations by school personnel pertinent to neglect, such as excessive absence by younger children, appearance, alertness, hunger, cleanliness, etc. Give sources of information.

Employment:

If employed, give place and length of time employed, type of work, earnings, hours worked, etc. Has contact been made with the employer?

Leisure Activities:

How and where does the child spend most of his or her free time? Does this appear to be constructive or not? Names and ages of closest peer associates and whether they are known to this Court. Describe relationships with the opposite sex.

Adjustment in Detention:

Brief statement only, unless particularly significant. See the daily record kept by Juvenile Home Staff.

Psychiatric-Psychological Information:

If the child and/or parent was evaluated, state the following:

Reason for the evaluation; at whose request; done by whom and when; a summarizing statement of the findings; recommendations. If you use the evaluator's phrases, be sure to use quotes.

IV. ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS:Officer's Evaluation:

(Paragraph 1) Brief statement of the child's delinquent, dependent or neglect pattern and its degree of development.

(Paragraph 2) Enumeration of the problem areas in a developmental fashion and how they have contributed to the above pattern.

(Paragraph 3) General summarizing statement of the current situation.

Plan:

Based upon your evaluation, what plan appears likely to be of value? What goals should be worked toward, and how might they be achieved? What is your prognosis (excellent, good, fair, poor)?

Recommendation:

Should there be an adjudication or should the matter be taken under advisement? Is restitution recommended? Other conditions?

Give the recommended continuance date in every case.

## APPENDIX C



## APPENDIX A: OFFENSE CATEGORIES USED BY SAN FRANCISCO POLICE DEPARTMENT AND JUVENILE COURT IN 1960 AND 1964

*(Italicized categories were coded on 1960 data cards. Suspicion of an offense was coded under the appropriate offense category.)*

### 1. *Homicide*

- a. Murder
- t. Manslaughter

### 2. *Robbery*

- a. Armed
- t. Other

### 3. *Assault*

- a. Assault to murder
  - t. Assault with deadly weapon
  - t. Assault, other. Battery
- (Note: Assault to rape is classified under sex offenses.)

### 4. *Auto Theft*

- t. Vehicle theft, joyride
- t. Driving or taking car or other vehicle without owner's consent
- t. Accomplice to such an act

5. Theft

- a Larceny and theft (except auto)
- e Auto tampering
- c Car clouting, boosting
- d Purse snatching
- e Petty theft
- f Illegal collection for newspapers

6. Burglary

- a Burglary
- f Receiving or selling stolen property
- c Forgery and checks

7. Sex Offenses

- a Rape (forcible, statutory)
- e Assault to rape, and attempt
- c Illegitimate sexual relations
- d Danger of immorality
- e Prostitution, pandering
- f Contributing to delinquency of minor
- e Bigamy, incest
- e Pregnant (unmarried)
- e Homosexual acts or tendencies
- f Impersonating opposite sex
- e Indecent exposure
- e Molesting infant
- n Other sex delinquencies

8. Narcotics

- a Use or possession

9. Other Offenses

- a Possession of weapons
- f Desertion of their children by juveniles
- e Failure to provide
- d Drunk driving
- e Hit and run, failure to render aid

f Arson

- e Escape (Youth Authority facility, jail, mental institution), aiding in escape
- e Kidnapping
- e Extortion
- e Violation of immigration or import regulations
- e Destroying property with explosives
- e AWOL, armed forces
- n Destruction of railroad property
- n Sheltering felons
- e Violation of fish or game laws
- e Unlawful discharge of firearms
- e Defrauding innkeeper
- e Exploding firecrackers
- e Shooting BB gun
- f Playing ball in street
- n Obscene photos, letters
- e Burning without permit
- e Gambling
- e Litterbug
- e Causing false arrest
- e Outraging public decency

10. Delinquent Tendencies

- a Incurable, runaway, beyond control of parents
- e Malicious mischief
- e Insubordination, refuses to obey
- e Behavior problem in school
- e Minor destruction of property, defacing property (vandalism)
- f False fire alarms
- e Resisting an officer
- e Truancy
- e Signing parent's name to absentee slip
- e Glue or gasoline sniffing
- e Disorderly conduct, disturbing the peace
- e Fighting
- n Bullying younger children

## Appendix:

## Offense categories

- n. obscene language or phone calls
- o. drunkenness or drinking
- p. possession of liquor
- q. vagrancy, late hours (curfew)
- r. loitering, prowling, trespassing, "peeping Tom"
- s. crashing theatres
- t. evading payment on public carrier
- u. failure to adjust or obey court order (contempt)

## APPENDIX D

A. The Occupational Scale.1. Higher Executives, Proprietors of Large Concerns, and Major Professionals.a. Higher Executives

Bank Presidents; Vice-Presidents  
Judges (Superior Courts)  
Large Business, e.g., Directors,  
Presidents, Vice-Presidents,  
Assistant Vice-Presidents,  
Executive Secretary,  
Treasurer.

Military, Commissioned Officers, Major  
and above, Officials of the Executive  
Branch of Government,  
Federal, State, Local, e.g.,  
Mayor, City Manager, City Plan  
Director, Internal Revenue  
Directors.

Research Directors, Large Firms

b. Large Proprietors (Value over \$100,000<sup>1</sup>).

Brokers  
Contractors

Dairy Owners  
Lumber Dealers

c. Major Professionals

Accountants (C.P.A.)  
Actuaries  
Agronomists  
Architects  
Artists, Portrait  
Astronomers  
Auditors  
Bacteriologists  
Chemical Engineers  
Chemists  
Clergyman (Professionally Trained)  
Dentists

Economists  
Engineers (College Grad.)  
Foresters  
Geologists  
Lawyers  
Metallurgists  
Physicians  
Physicists, Research  
Psychologists, Practicing  
Symphony Conductor  
Teachers, University, College  
Veterinarians (Veterinary Surgeons)

2. Business Managers, Proprietors of Medium Sized Businesses, and Lesser Professionals.a. Business Managers in Large Concerns.

Advertising Directors  
Branch Managers  
Brokerage Salesmen  
District Managers  
Executive Assistants  
Executive Managers, Govt. Officials,  
minor, e.g., Internal Revenue Agents  
Farm Managers

Office Managers  
Personnel Managers  
Police Chief; Sheriff  
Postmaster  
Production Managers  
Sales Engineers  
Sales Managers, National Concerns  
Sales Managers (Over \$100,000)

<sup>1</sup> The value of businesses is based upon the rating of financial strength in  
Dun and Bradstreet's Manual.

## b. Proprietors of Medium Businesses (Value \$35,000-\$100,000)

Advertising Owners (-\$100,000)	Manufacturer's Representatives
Clothing Store Owners (-\$100,000)	Poultry Business (-\$100,000)
Contractors (-\$100,000)	Purchasing Managers
Express Company Owners (-\$100,000)	Real Estate Brokers (-\$100,000)
Fruits, Wholesale (-\$100,000)	Rug Business (-\$100,000)
Furniture Business (-\$100,000)	Store Owners (-\$100,000)
Jewelers (-\$100,000)	Theater Owners (-\$100,000)
Labor Relations Consultants	

## c. Lesser Professionals

Accountants (Not C.P.A.)	Military, Commissioned Officers, Lts., Captains
Chiropodists	Musicians (Symphony Orchestra)
Chiropractors	Nurses
Correction Officers	Opticians
Director of Community House	Pharmacists
Engineers (Not College Grad.)	Public Health Officers (M.P.H.)
Finance Writers	Research Assistants, University (Full-time)
Health Educators	Social Workers
Librarians	Teachers (Elementary and High)

3. Administrative Personnel, Small Independent Businesses, and Minor Professionals.a. Administrative Personnel

Adjusters, Insurance	Section Heads, Federal, State, and Local Government Offices
Advertising Agents	Section Heads, Large Businesses and Industries
Chief Clerks	Service Managers
Credit Managers	Shop Managers
Insurance Agents	Store Managers (Chain)
Managers, Department Stores	Traffic Managers
Passenger Agents--R.R.	
Private Secretaries	
Purchasing Agents	
Sales Representatives	

b. Small Business Owners (\$6,000-\$35,000)

Art Gallery	Cigarette Machines
Auto Accessories	Cleaning Shops
Awnings	Clothing
Bakery	Coal Businesses
Beauty Shop	Convalescent Homes
Boatyard	Decorating
Brokerage, Insurance	Dog Supplies
Car Dealers	Dry Goods
Cattle Dealers	Electrical Contractors
	Engraving Business

b. Small Business Owners (Continued)

Feed  
Finance Co., Local  
Fire Extinguishers  
5 & 10  
Florist  
Food Equipment  
Food Products  
Foundry  
Funeral Directors  
Furniture  
Garage  
Gas Station  
Glassware  
Grocery-General  
Hotel Proprietors  
Inst. of Music  
Jewelry  
Machinery Brokers  
Manufacturing

Monuments  
Package Store (Liquor)  
Painting Contracting  
Plumbing  
Poultry Producers  
Publicity & Public Relations  
Real Estate  
Records and Radios  
Restaurant  
Roofing Contractor  
Shoe  
Shoe Repairs  
Signs  
Tavern  
Taxi Company  
Tire Shop  
Trucking  
Trucks and Tractors  
Upholstery  
Wholesale Outlets  
Window Shades

c. Semi-Professionals

Actors and Showmen  
Army M/Sgt; Navy C.P.O..  
Artists, Commercial  
Appraisers (Estimators)  
Clergymen (Not professionally  
trained)  
Concern Managers  
Deputy Sheriffs  
Dispatchers, R.R. Train  
I.B.M. Programmers  
Interior Decorators  
Interpreters, Court  
Laboratory Assistants  
Landscape Planners

Morticians  
Oral Hygienists  
Photographers  
Physio-therapists  
Piano Teachers  
Radio, T.V. Announcers  
Reporters, Court  
Reporters, Newspaper  
Surveyors  
Title Searchers  
Tool Designers  
Travel Agents  
Yard Masters, R.R.

d. Farmers

Small Owners (\$25,000-35,000)

Clerical and Sales Workers, Technicians, and Owners of Little Businesses.  
(Value under \$5,000)

a. Clerical and Sales Workers

Bank Clerks and Tellers  
Bill Collectors  
Bookkeepers  
Business Machine Operators,  
Offices  
Claims Examiners  
Clerical or Stenographic

Factory Storekeeper  
Factory Supervisor  
Post Office Clerks  
Route Managers (Salesmen)  
Sales Clerks  
Shipping Clerks  
Supervisors, Utilities, Factories

Camp Counselors  
 Dental Technicians  
 Draftsmen  
 Driving Teachers  
 Expeditor, Factory  
 Experimental Tester  
 Instructors, Telephone Co., Factory  
 Inspectors, Weights, Sanitary  
 Inspectors, R.R., Factory  
 Investigators  
 Laboratory Technicians  
 Locomotive Engineers

Operators, P.B.X.  
 Proofreaders  
 Safety Supervisors  
 Supervisors of Maintenance  
 Technical Assistants  
 Telephone Co. Supervisors  
 Timekeepers  
 Tower Operators, R.R.  
 Truck Dispatchers  
 Window Trimmers (Store)

c. Owners of Little Businesses.

Flower Shop (\$3,000-\$6,000)  
 Newsstand (\$3,000-\$6,000)  
 Tailor Shop (\$3,000-\$6,000)

d. Farmers.

Owners (\$10,000-\$20,000)

5. Skilled Manual Employees.

Adjusters, Typewriter  
 Auto Body Repairers  
 Bakers  
 Barbers  
 Blacksmiths  
 Bookbinders  
 Boilermakers  
 Brakemen, R.R.  
 Brewers  
 Bulldozer Operators  
 Butchers  
 Cabinet Makers  
 Carpenters  
 Casters (Founders)  
 Cement Finishers  
 Cheese Makers  
 Chefs  
 Compositors  
 Dishmakers  
 Diesel Engine Repair & Maintenance  
 (Trained)  
 Diesel Shovel Operators  
 Electricians  
 Electrotypists  
 Engravers  
 Exterminators  
 Fitters, Gas, Steam  
 Firemen, City  
 Firemen, R.R.  
 Foremen, Construction, Dairy  
 Gardeners, Landscape (Trained)

Glassblowers  
 Glaziers  
 Gunsmiths  
 Gauge Makers  
 Hair Stylists  
 Heat Treaters  
 Horticulturists  
 Lineman, Utility  
 Linoleum Layers (Trained)  
 Linotype Operators  
 Lithographers  
 Locksmiths  
 Loom Fixers  
 Lumberjacks  
 Machinists (Trained)  
 Maintenance Foremen  
 Installers, Electrical Appliances  
 Masons  
 Masseurs  
 Mechanics (Trained)  
 Millwrights  
 Moulders (Trained)  
 Painters  
 Paperhangers  
 Patrolmen, R.R.  
 Pattern and Model Makers  
 Piano Builders  
 Piano Tuners  
 Plumbers  
 Policemen, City  
 Postmen



5. Skilled Manual Employees (Continued)

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Printers  
Radio, T.V., Maintenance  
Repairmen, Home Appliances  
Riggers  
Rope Splicers  
Sheetmetal Workers (Trained)  
Shipsmiths  
Shoe Repairmen (Trained)  
Stationary Engineers (Licensed)  
Stewards, Club  
Switchmen, R.R.

Tailors (Trained)  
Teletype Operators  
Toolmakers  
Track Supervisors, R.R.  
Tractor-Trailer Trans.  
Typographers  
Upholsterers (Trained)  
Watchmakers  
Weavers  
Welders  
Yard Supervisors, R.R.

Small Farmers

Owners (under \$10,000)  
Tenants who own farm equipment

6. Machine Operators and Semi-Skilled Employees

-Aides, Hospital  
Apprentices, Electricians, Printers  
Steamfitters, Toolmakers  
-Assembly Line Workers  
-Bartenders  
-Bingo Tenders  
Building Superintendents (Cust.)  
Bus Drivers  
Checkers  
Clay Cutters  
Coin Machine Fillers  
-Cooks, Short Order  
Delivery Men  
-Dressmakers, Machine  
Drill Press Operators  
Duplicator Machine Operators  
Elevator Operators  
Enlisted Men, Military Services  
Films, Benches, Buffers,  
Foundry Workers  
-Garage and Gas Station Assistants  
Greenhouse Workers  
Guards, Doorkeepers, Watchmen  
Hairdressers  
Housekeepers  
Meat Cutters and Packers  
Meter Readers  
Operators, Factory Machines  
Oiler, R.R.  
Paper Rolling Machine Operators

Photostat Machine Operators  
Practical Nurses  
Pressers, Clothing  
-Pump Operators  
-Receivers and Checkers  
-Roofers  
Set-up Men, Factories  
Shapers  
-Signalmen, R.R.  
Solderers, Factory  
-Sprayers, Paint  
Steelworkers (Not Skilled)  
Stranders, Wire Machines  
Strippers, Rubber Factory  
Taxi Drivers  
Testers  
Timers  
Tire Moulders  
-Trainmen, R.R.  
Truck Drivers, General  
-Waiters-Waitresses ("Better Places")  
Weighers  
Welders, Spot  
Winders, Machine  
Wiredrawers, Machine  
Wine Bottlers  
Wood Workers, Machine  
Wrappers, Stores and Factories

7. Unskilled Employees.

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Amusement Park Workers (Bowling  
Alleys, Pool Rooms)  
Ash Removers  
Attendants, Parking Lots  
Cafeteria Workers  
Car Cleaners, R.R.  
Car Helpers, R.R.  
Carriers, Coal  
Counter men  
Dairy Workers  
Deck Hands  
Domestics  
Farm Helpers  
Fishermen (Clam Diggers)  
Freight Handlers  
Garbage Collectors  
Grave Diggers  
Hod Carriers  
Hog Killers  
Hospital Workers, Unspecified  
Hostlers, R.R.

Janitors, Sweepers  
Laborers, Construction  
Laborers, Unspecified  
Laundry Workers  
Messengers  
Platform Men, R.R.  
Peddlers  
Porters  
Roofer's Helpers  
Shirt Folders  
Shoe Shiners  
Sorters, Rag and Salvage  
Stagehands  
Stevedores  
Stock Handlers  
Street Cleaners  
Unskilled Factory Workers  
Truckmen, R.R.  
Waitresses--"Hash Houses"  
Washers, Cars  
Window Cleaners  
Woodchoppers

Relief, Public, Private

Unemployed (No Occupation)

Farmers

Share Croppers

This scale is premised upon the assumption that occupations have different values attached to them by the members of our society. The hierarchy ranges from the low evaluation of unskilled physical labor toward the more prestigious use of skill, through the creative talents of ideas, and the manipulation of men. The ranking of occupational functions implies that some men exercise control over the occupational pursuits of other men. Normally, a person who possesses highly trained skills has control over several other people. This is exemplified in a highly developed form by an executive in a large business enterprise who may be responsible for decisions affecting thousands of employees.